A SELECTIVE, ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CURRENT SOUTH ASIAN ISSUES

September 1986

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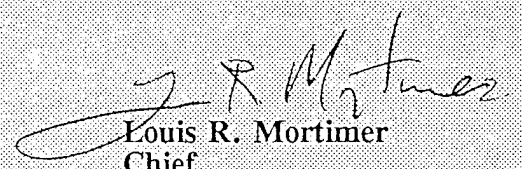

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PREFACE

This bibliography provides selective annotations of open-source material on two current issues:

--nuclear developments in South Asia, and

--tactics and organization of the Afghan resistance

The bibliography incorporates serials and monographs received in the previous month and is part of a continuing series on the above subjects.

Entries within each topic are arranged alphabetically by author or title. Call numbers for materials available in the Library of Congress are included to facilitate recovery of works cited.

CONTENTS

1. NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH ASIA

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

AEMC	The Atomic Energy Minerals Center at Lahore is responsible for finding and recovering uranium ore, thereby filling a vital need stemming from boycotts of Pakistan by international nuclear fuel suppliers.
BARC	Bhabba Atomic Research Centre is located in north Bombay and is India's facility for research in and development of nuclear technology.
CHASHNUPP	Pakistan's Chashma Nuclear Power Plant, a projected 900-megawatt facility in Mianwali District, Punjab, was sanctioned in 1982 in order to create electrical power through light-water technology.
Cirus	A Candu-type Canadian-built plant located at BARC, Cirus was commissioned in 1960. India reprocessed spent fuel from Cirus to make the plutonium for its 1974 "peaceful nuclear explosion;" Cirus has a capacity of 40 megawatts.
Dhruva	One of the world's few high-flux reactors, Dhruva, which went critical in August 1985, is solely the product of Indian research and production, and therefore, falls completely outside IAEA safeguards. Dhruva shares facilities with Cirus, its neighbor in the BARC, has a 100-megawatt capacity, and can produce 30 kg of plutonium annually.
IAEA	International Atomic Energy Agency (United Nations)
Kalpakkam	This Tamil Nadu town is the site of the Indira Gandhi Atomic Research Center (formerly MAPP) and gives its name to a 40-megawatt fast-breeder reactor which went critical in August 1985 using plutonium-uranium carbide fuel.

KANUPP	Karachi Nuclear Power Plant, a 125-megawatt reactor, was supplied by Canada on a turnkey basis and became operational in 1972.
MAPP-1	Madras Atomic Power Project's first Candu-type 235-megawatt unit was commissioned in January 1984. The center is located at Kalpakkam, Tamil Nadu, and was produced completely by Indian research and technology; consequently, its units and the plutonium they produce fall outside IAEA inspection safeguards. MAPP units are intended to provide electricity for Madras. In October 1985, MAPP was renamed the Indira Gandhi Atomic Research Center, but new names for individual plants have not been made public.
MAPP-2	The second unit at Madras Atomic Power Project is also a Candu-type 235-megawatt plutonium and heavy-water reactor. MAPP-2 went critical in August 1985 and was commissioned in October of the same year.
NPT	The Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty was ratified by the UN General Assembly in 1968. India and Pakistan contend that the NPT discriminates against nonnuclear states, but Pakistan has repeatedly offered to sign if India will do so simultaneously. In the UNGA, Islamabad voted in favor of the NPT.
PAEC	Pakistan Atomic Energy Commission
PINSTECH	Pakistan Institute of Nuclear Science Technology, the site of a US-supplied 5-megawatt "swimming pool"-type reactor installed in the 1960s
Tarapur	The Tarapur nuclear power plant, located near Bombay, was built by the United States. It has a capacity of 600 megawatts and can annually produce 50 to 80 kg of plutonium. Tarapur and its products come under IAEA inspection safeguards.

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"Acquisition of N-tech Right of Pakistan: Munir." Pakistan Times (Islamabad), 16 July 1986, p. 4.

Munir Ahmed Khan, the chairman of Pakistan's Atomic Energy Commission, reasserts that the Pakistani nuclear program is geared to peaceful purposes only. Those who oppose the program "want to impede the progress of the country," he maintains. Pakistan's most recent accomplishments in the nuclear field include: the construction of a cobalt-60 radiator project in Lahore for the sterilization of medical goods; the construction of an "atomic medical centre" in Quetta; and provision of nuclear research facilities for a number of Pakistani universities.

Aiyar, Shahnaz. "Heavy Water from China." Indian Express (Bombay) 30 August 1986, p. 1.

Commenting on a report appearing in an American academic journal, an Indian commentator discusses allegations that China is secretly selling heavy water to India for use in the MAPP-II and Dhurva reactors. The rationale for the sale is that China desperately needs foreign exchange earnings. India, in turn, cannot purchase heavy water from other foreign suppliers since they all demand international safeguards on nuclear exports. India, it is alleged, needs the heavy water in order to process weapons-grade plutonium. The US report concludes that 293 tons of unsafeguarded heavy water is unaccounted for. Since China is the only power that can legally export this quantity of heavy water without safeguards, the author asserts that India and China maintain a sub rosa nuclear relationship. The Indian Department of Energy has issued a press statement denying all the allegations.

"Blast Knocks Out Heavy Water Plant." Times of India (Bombay), 1 June 1986, p. 1.

Heavy water plant at Talcher in eastern Orissa is put out of commission following an explosion in the control room. Authorities report there is no danger of radioactive emissions. There were no casualties, though damage to the plant is said to be extensive.

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"Doubts over Rajasthan Nuclear Plant." Telegraph (Calcutta), 17 August 1986, p. 8.

Four-year battle to repair the first unit of the Rajasthan Atomic Power station (RAPP-I) may have ended in failure, reports the chairman of the nuclear power board. RAPP-1 suffered a cracked end-shield made of nickel-carbon steel in 1982 and had to be shut down for repairs. After vast expenditures and three years of work, the plant was reopened in 1985 after engineers plugged the leaky shield using remote controlled applications of chemicals. Three months later, the leaks started again and the power station was shut down. Engineers have determined that the end-shield cannot be repaired. The only alternative is to replace the part. This option presents formidable problems, however. Such a delicate replacement project has never been attempted. Even if the reactor could be repaired, it would never produce at maximum capacity because seven of its fuel channels were permanently damaged by repair work already undertaken. The only remaining option is to write off RAPP-I altogether.

"India to Offer N-site Manpower to Big-2." Indian Express (Bombay), 5 August 1986, p. 13.

Press reports reveal that leaders of six countries, including India, will meet in Ixtapa, Mexico on 6 August to press the case for nuclear disarmament. To follow up on the group's Delhi Declaration that called for a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, the six will offer to supply manpower and funding for on-site inspection and seismic monitoring of nuclear tests conducted by the United States and the USSR.

"No Atomic Unit at Orissa Test Range." Telegraph (Calcutta), 11 August 1986, p. 8.

Ministry of Defense sources in New Delhi reveal that the proposed missile test range that will be built in Balasore district in Orissa will not be used for nuclear tests. The facility is designed specifically for satellite launches and the testing of new generation missiles.

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"Pak. has 'Workable Bomb Design'." Hindu (Madras), 8 August, 1986, p. 5.

According to information gleaned from an article appearing in the Pakistani press, Pakistan has a workable bomb design and the capability to produce the requisite fuel for a weapons program. According to the article, the New Labs reprocessing plant is capable of extracting 10-20 kg of plutonium per year. This could produce two to four bombs. The facility underwent cold tests in 1982, though it is unclear whether the plant has ever been operational. The article claims that the only way Pakistan could operate the facility would be to divert plutonium from the KANUPP reactor, a facility which is under international safeguards.

"Pak. Seeks Chinese Help for N-power Programme." Hindu (Madras), 27 April 1986, p. 3.

Pakistani President Zia-ul Haq reaffirms that his country's nuclear program is geared solely to peaceful purposes. Speaking at the inauguration of the Guddu thermal power station, Zia sounds a defiant note when he states: "We do not have to give repeated assurances on this account to anyone." Referring to China which helped in the erection of the Guddu facility, Zia states: "We believe that our [Chinese] friends will help us in the use of [peaceful nuclear] technology, as they have helped us in other energy fields."

"Pakistan On Verge of Making A-Bomb: US Experts." Patriot (New Delhi), 21 July 1986, p. 4.

Annual study on nuclear proliferation issued by the Carnegie Endowment notes that Pakistan's nuclear weapons program has made rapid strides in the past year. Citing confidential CIA information, the report concludes that "there is no question that Pakistan has the bomb or will soon." Despite Pakistani assurances that it will not enrich uranium beyond five percent purity, there are credible reports that Pakistan has already succeeded in enriching uranium to 30 percent at the Kahuta facility.

The Pakistani nuclear program is making it difficult for the Reagan administration to proceed with a new package of economic and military assistance for Islamabad. The passage of US aid is contingent upon a presidential certification that Pakistan is not engaged in nuclear weapons development.

"RAPP II May Use Plutonium Fuel." Patriot (New Delhi), 20 August 1986, p. 5.

India's Department of Atomic Energy (DAE) proposes that the Rajasthan nuclear facility be fueled with plutonium in order to circumscribe safeguards imposed by the Soviet Union. India has had to reprocess the spent fuel from the two Rajasthan reactors at immense cost. Since a 1977 agreement with the USSR forbids diversion of this plutonium to any other facility without the permission of the International Atomic Energy Agency, DAE suggests burning this spent fuel in the reactor along with thorium obtained from southern India. Apart from finding an outlet for the safeguarded plutonium, the DAE hopes to conserve scarce uranium which is currently being used to fuel the reactors. Feasibility studies are already underway.

"RAPP-I Finally Written Off." Times of India (New Delhi) 31 August 1986, p. 17.

As many nuclear industry analysts had been predicting, India announces that the country's first atomic reactor at Kota (Rajasthan) is destined to become a "historical monument." The RAPP-I reactor has been shut down repeatedly since it started operations in the 1970s. Nuclear officials estimate that the exortidant cost of repairing a cracked endshield in the reactor justifies the decision to write off the reactor altogether.

"Safety Factor in India's N-Power Plants Highest." Patriot (New Delhi), 17 May 1986, p. 5.

"The safety factor in India's atomic energy operations is among the best in the world," a columnist confidently asserts. Based on an interview with an unidentified "competent source," the author notes that India takes every precaution in siting facilities, incorporating safety measures for even abnormal situations, and anticipating possible hazards. "By such engineering provisions and analyses, the risk from a severe hypothetical accident is reduced to an acceptably low level," the article states. Responsibility for monitoring all aspects of nuclear safety is assigned to the Atomic Energy Regulatory Board and its oversseer, the Safety Review Committee in New Delhi.

"Short-cut to Energy from Thorium." Hindu (Madras), 26 August 1986, p. 11.

BARC scientists are currently conducting thorium fuel experiments with Swiss colleagues at the Ecole Polytechnic in Lausanne. The Indo-Swiss research involves the bombardment of thorium by neutrons in an accelerator. Scientists hope to irradiate the thorium to sufficient levels to turn it into U-233-- what Indian scientists hope will be the "nuclear fuel of the 21st century." India has enormous reserves of thorium. If the enrichment process can be perfected, thorium could become an attractive alternative to Fast Breeder Reactors, the backbone of the current phase of the Indian nuclear energy program. Scientists have discovered that reactors based on the TH-U233 cycle produce very little long-lived actinide wastes compared to reactors using plutonium or uranium. Dubbed "Lotus," the experimental thorium facilities will signal the era of "fissile-fuel factories" which will convert the mineral into fuel for nuclear reactors. Such facilities could come into operation within 15 years.

"Tata Official on Uncertainty of Nuclear Power." Times of India (Bombay), 30 June 1986, p. 7.

Prof. B. Banerjee, a nuclear physicist with the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, writes that the

Chernobyl tragedy provides a harrowing example of the dangers of nuclear power. India, he writes, should take heed. The author maintains that reactors in India are probably safer than the Chernobyl facility. Indian reactors are moderated by heavy water and have secondary containment systems, making a Chernobyl-type disaster less likely to occur. However, India should not abandon its commitment to nuclear power, at least until an alternative is found. Banerjee urges that the Indian nuclear industry should redouble its efforts to ensure plant safety.

"Thermal Generation at Low Level." Hindu (Madras), 20 August 1986, p. 12.

State energy officials in the southern state of Tamil Nadu report that the second unit of the Madras Atomic Power station (MAPP-II) was switched off when a spent uranium fuel rod was stuck in the fuel transport system. Correcting the problem could take two weeks. In the meantime, the state has suffered power shortages, since thermal power stations are also running under capacity.

2. TACTICS AND ORGANIZATION OF THE AFGHAN RESISTANCE

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Commander	A resistance fighter who is recognized as a military leader in local or regional areas of conflict; some commanders are respected outside their own regions, but there is not yet a coordinated, nationwide, insurgent command in Afghanistan. The title commander is the only honorific or rank recognized by the resistance movement.
Dushmani	(singular: dushman) Soviet pejorative term for Afghan insurgents; it means "bandit" and originated during the 1930s Central Asia resistance.
DRA	The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was established as the result of a coup led by Mohammad Nur Taraki and Hafizullah Amin in April 1978. Deteriorating internal security led to military intervention by the Soviet Union in December 1979 and Amin was killed by the invading troops. The Soviet invasion transformed armed resistance toward the modernistic but arbitrary reforms of Taraki and Amin into a war of national liberation.
KHAD	DRA intelligence service whose operations are entirely directed by its many Soviet KGB advisors. The acronym stands for Khedmat-Etala'at-e-Daulati (State Information Service). KHAD received ministerial rank in January 1986.
Mujahideen	(singular: mujahid) This Islamic term means "holy warrior," but it is most often used as a name for Afghanistan's resistance fighters, who consider their campaign a jihad (holy war) to drive unbelievers from their country.
Spetznaz	Soviet special warfare troops under the GRU (Military Intelligence Directorate) of the Soviet Ministry of Defense. These highly mobile units are deployed throughout Afghanistan for operations which require more skill or loyalty than is commonly displayed by Soviet or DRA troops.

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Alemdar, Zeynep. "Afghan Resistance Faltering, Congressional Hearing Told." Washington Post, 14 August 1986, p. A18.

On 13 August 1986, Senator Orrin Hatch, along with several other speakers, appeared before a congressional task force on Afghanistan. Hatch, lamenting what he perceives to be the deterioration of the military capability of the Afghan resistance, accused the State Department of concealing the decline by harping instead on mujahed willpower. He countered by stating that the Soviets also have willpower-- which is backed by massive firepower. Supporting Hatch's dire appraisal of the situation, were the statements of Sen. Gordon Humphrey, Nasir Shanab, Maj. Joseph Collins, and Richard Cronin. Humphrey mentioned that Mikhail Zaitsev, a combat experienced general, has been appointed theater commander and "Soviet czar of Afghanistan." Sahsab, an author, mentioned that the raising of Soviet troop levels by 45 percent to 120,000 in the 1982 to 1985 period, has been accompanied by a qualitative upgrading in personnel and tactics. He contends that 70 percent of Soviet operations are conducted by air. The lack of anti-aircraft weapons thus severely limits the resistance. Collins, a West Point instructor and author, cited the need to raise the cost of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan until it becomes too expensive for the Soviets to stay. Cronin, an Asian analyst from the Congressional Research Service, believes that the mujahideen have been unable to do much damage to the major Soviet military installations. The mujahideen, he noted, are hampered by logistical and transportation problems in the difficult terrain. Their effectiveness as a fighting force is further complicated by deficiencies in training in sophisticated weapons.

Border, Jake. "Afghan Attack--Behind the Lines in Kandahar." Soldier of Fortune, Vol. 11, September 1986, pp. 46-53.

A macho excursion inside Afghanistan with "no booze, no women, but what the hell!" The author, a hardened SOF correspondent, slipped into Afghanistan with some logistical help from the resistance Jamiat-i-Islami Party in Peshawar. Anxious to witness how the mujahideen wage their urban campaign, he went to Kandahar with a band of eleven guerrillas. Observing many armed mujahideen

lounging around tea-houses on the outskirts of town, he was told by a mujahid that Kandahar is a "mujahideen city." The author recounts inconclusive firefights against an army outpost, a plethora of mujahed bravado, a lot of often misdirected bravery, and finally, on a more serious note, the lack of protection against Su-25/FROGFOOT jet fighters.

"Explosion Said to Rip Afghan Depot." Washington Post, 28 August 1986, p. A33.

Western reporters state that a series of explosions set off by a major rebel attack devastated an army munitions dump west of Kabul killing an undetermined number of people. The DRA's official Radio Kabul however, gave another explanation, saying that the explosion was caused by an industrial accident and that no one was killed.

Grier, Peter. "Afghan War grinds to a Stalemate--Guerrilla leaders meet with Reagan in search of military aid." Christian Science Monitor, (Boston), 17 June 1986, p. 3,4.

This article addresses an ongoing controversy--how well are the Afghan mujahideen faring against the Soviet and DRA troops in this seventh year of combat? State Department analyst Craig Karp gives his interpretation, declaring that the resistance is "more capable than ever," while Carnegie Endowment analyst Selig Harrison takes an opposing view and maintains that the military balance is turning against the mujahideen. The author considers both these opinions with some reservations. What is certain, however, is that both sides are changing their tactics. The Soviets are now modifying their equipment for anti-guerrilla warfare (armored personnel carriers, for example, now have a faster firing cannon) and the mujahideen are increasing their ability to coordinate larger bodies of troops, bolstering anti-aircraft firepower, etc. The author observes that the war is one of opposing city states or pockets of control (the Soviets control only Kabul and other major cities) while the

struggle continues in the vast no-man's land of the countryside.

Morrison, James. "Diplomats in Pakistan cite Mujahideen gains." Washington Times, 20 August 1986, p. 1.

Western reporters in Pakistan have taken exception to Senator Orrin Hatch's testimony before a recent congressional hearing bemoaning the "sad fact of decline of the Afghan resistance." Hatch based his observations on what he perceived as a sharp contrast in resistance strength observed between two trips he took to the war front, in June 1985 and in January 1986. Supporting his arguments were several other observers of the war who cited increased Soviet troop strength and improved airborne and ground tactics. Western diplomats based in Pakistan have joined the journalists in questioning Hatch's pessimism and instead contend that successful mujahed campaigns waged in Logar and Wardak Provinces in July have further entrenched their position. Much of this success is due to effective utilization of newly acquired Blowpipe anti-aircraft missiles. While far from neutralizing the threat from Soviet air attack, the mujahed-operated Blowpipes have forced the Soviets to reduce aircover for DRA/Soviet ground troops. Indeed, both the official Afghan news agency--Bakhtar--which condemns the British for supplying the weapons, and the British journal--Janes Defense Weekly--which alleges that the missiles were delivered to the mujahideen through Nigerian intermediaries, confirm that the sophisticated Blowpipe anti-aircraft missiles are now being used in the war. Other reports from diplomatic sources state that recent fighting has been responsible for nearly 2,000 amputation cases of DRA troops who have overcrowded the few government clinics. Furthermore, according to Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of the Hezb-e-Islami Party, the military situation in Logar and Wardak Provinces as well as in other parts of Afghanistan is becoming more favorable to the resistance forces.

Rose, Leo "United States and Soviet Policy toward South Asia." Current History (Philadelphia), Vol. 85, No. 509, March 1986, pp. 97-100. D410.C82

The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan has complicated the foreign policies of both the United States and the Soviet Union toward South Asia. The author debunks the popular perception of a fixed strategic alignment caused by the Afghan war--a superficial analysis which claims that there is a United States-Chinese-Pakistani "axis" confronting a Soviet-Indian-Afghan "alliance." This perception overlooks the many subtleties in the relationship between the superpowers and the regional powers. Of particular interest to the author is the US-Pakistani relationship. An argument promoted by the Soviets and frequently echoed by the Indians is that the United States, by supplying arms to Pakistan, bears sole responsiblity for fueling the arms race in South Asia. The argument is hypocritical--the Soviets sold more than twice as many weapons to India than the United States did to Pakistan in the 1982-85 period. Nevertheless, the author maintains that the United States should be aware of Indian sensitivities and stress the defensive nature of its arms supply program. He also argues that Pakistan should be reassured that American commitments will continue when and if the Afghanistan crisis ends. The author also attacks the State Department for pursuing a policy on Afghanistan which stresses continuity despite Soviet escalation of the war in 1984.

"Testing The Bull." Asiaweek (Hong Kong), Vol. 12, 10 August 1986, p. 13. DS1.A715

Many observers considered Moscow's replacement of the head of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) with a new and tougher puppet--former KHAD director Najibullah-- as an astute maneuver designed to inject some dynamism into the Kabul regime's stagnant and faction-plagued leadership. Admittedly, Najibullah, in a short period, has had some success in winning over to the regime some of his fellow Pushtun tribesmen on the Afghan-Pakistani border and has thus complicated mujahed

supply routes. He has also broadened the military conscription drive. This article notes, however, that Najibullah's rise to power has exacerbated, not lessened, divisions in the PDPA. Now in addition to the longstanding factional bitterness between Khalq and Parcham, another element has been introduced--a bitter rivalry within Parcham between those who support Karmal and those supporting Najibullah. Furthermore, a third Parcham faction has coalesced around Prime Minister Sultan Ali Keshtmand, a member of the minority Hazara ethnic group. Karmal supporters are believed to be waging a dogged rearguard action against Najibullah, boycotting party meetings, expressing anti-Soviet sentiments, staging demonstrations, and in some isolated cases, actually fighting Najibullah supporters. Meanwhile, the Khalq, which may have misinterpreted Moscow's removal of Babrak Karmal as an avenue to its return to power, has expressed undisguised pleasure in the confusion in the ranks of their rival Parcham faction. Khalqis, who have a significant following in the army, have reportedly been involved in several shootouts with Parchamis. The specifics on how Najibullah--"the Bull"--will deal with party disaffections is open to speculation. What is not open to question, however, is Najibullah's reluctance to rely on Karmal's strategy of party consensus and the former's willingness to employ Soviet-backed brute force to achieve his goals.

Warner, Denis. "Afghanistan: the New Offensive." Pacific Defense Reporter, (Kunyung, Australia), Vol. 13, No. 1, July 1986, pp. 32-33.

The author feels that the western analogy of Afghanistan as "Moscow's Vietnam" has seen too much print mileage and should be put to rest. He emphasizes the differences between the two wars: the Soviet Union is engaged at its back door while the United States was fighting with its communication and logistic lines stretched far from home; the strategic prerogative for Moscow to install a client regime on its border is stronger than the past US need to consolidate an anti-Communist regime in Saigon. The author does not entertain even a remote possibility of a Soviet troop withdrawal until the mujahideen are defeated.

Rather, he claims that Moscow has learned valuable lessons from Vietnam, and that we may expect to see a deft combination of fighting and talking reminiscent of Le Duc Tho's strategy in the Paris talks. The Russians will not abandon what they have fought for but seek the consolidation of their gains under whatever guise necessary. Armed with new tactical awareness and an arsenal of weaponry especially developed for warfare in Afghanistan, (eg., the wheeled BTR-60/70 armored personnel carriers; BM-21 multiple rocket launchers; and M1981/82 120 mm self-propelled artilery) the Soviets show few signs of leaving. Instead, satellite photograghs show Soviet airbases in western Afghanistan ringed with SAM missiles--protection against weapons the mujahideen do not possess--indicating that Afghanistan is now considered a forward base. The author pessimistically enumerates recent setbacks for the mujahideen: the fall of Zhawar; increasing cooperation by the maliks (landowners) with the Soviets; the 40,000 or so Afghan youth who have been undergoing indoctrination in the Soviet Union and who have now started returning to their home country. The Soviet's willful and wholesale use of terror is the most alarming challenge to the mujahideen. This element, cautions the author, is what most clearly distinquishes this war from Vietnam, "all the fellow-traveller claptrap notwithstanding."